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ETHNICITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA: AN ESSAY ON POLITICAL PROCESS

by

© JEAN K. STRONG

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The creation of the Canadian state in 1867 was accomplished by the union of two ethnic communities, francophone French Canadians and anglophone Angloceltics. In the 1960's, the ethnic duality of the Canadian state was challenged by the formation of non-French Canadian, non-Angloceltic ethnic groups who argued that, history notwithstanding, Canada was now a multi-ethnic nation and multi-culturalism was the most appropriate model for contemporary Canadian society. Social theorists as divergent as Marx and Weber assumed that as nation states industrialized group identification based on ethnicity would be replaced by an identification based on class or socio-economic status. The continual, often increased, salience of ethnicity, not just in Canada, but in other advanced industrial states in the post World War II period as well, makes ethnicity a theoretical issue for social anthropologists.

This thesis argues that the salience of ethnicity in industrial societies is related to the use of ethnicity by social actors as a political resource in social conflict over the structural allocation and distribution of resources within an industrialized democratic state. With Canada as a case model, the historical political/economic development of the Canadian state is examined to trace and determine the particular structural conditions under which ethnicity becomes salient.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE PROBLEM OF ETHNICITY	1
	Introduction	1
	Ethnicity	9
II.	SOCIAL CONFLICT: THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING A CANADIAN IDENTITY	21
	Introduction	21
	Social Conflict	23
III.	POLITICAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA: ETHNICITY AS A TOOL OF DEVELOPMENT	32
IV.	THE QUEBEC REVOLUTION: AN ETHNIC CHALLENGE	49
	Introduction	49
	Quebec Business and Industry	54
	Federal Public Service	55
	The Francophone Challenge	60
V.	THE NON-CHARTER CANADIANS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM	65
	Introduction	65
	Cultural Assimilation	69
	The Non-Charter Canadians Challenge	74
VI.	CONCLUSIONS	82
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	91

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF ETHNICITY

Introduction

The creation of the Canadian state in 1867 by a confederation of British colonies in North America united two ethnic communities, French Canadian and English Canadian. The cession of the French colonies in New France (Canada) to Great Britain in 1763 began the basic pattern of French/English dualism which was expressed in the terms of confederation. The British approach to governing their colonial possessions was to establish in the colony a small British governing elite. The colonized people were not expected to assimilate into the British culture, but to retain their own cultural traditions, except in those domains where change was necessary to facilitate British extraction of wealth. Local authority figures were either co-opted or, if uncooperative, replaced to act as the liaison-mediator between the British ruling elite and the general colonial population. Under this form of colonial rule ethnic pluralism was accepted and somewhat encouraged. The separation of the French and English colonies in Canada was institutionalized by the Quebec Act of 1763, and this institutional duality was preserved when the province of Canada was formed in 1840, and at the confederation of the Canadian state in 1867 by the British North America Act.

Until the last decades of the 19th century the basic French/English ethnic-cultural duality of the non-aboriginal population of Canada was continued. The building of the trans-continental railway was to change this. Railway construction required a large but temporary labour force at low wages if the builders were to profit. The efficient railway transportation also meant that a large agricultural settlement of the prairies and the mineral wealth of the Canadian shield and B.C. could be exploited to benefit the industrializing areas of Ontario and Quebec. The British immigrants were generally not prepared to accept either the low wages or poor living conditions of railway building and mining, and the conditions of agricultural life on the prairies required skills not possessed by most of the traditional immigrants from Great Britain. The combined labour demands of industry and agriculture created a labour market in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that was met by migrants from all over Europe, the U.S.A. and even Asia. While the Asians were regarded as temporary "guest workers", the non-British European migrants were viewed as candidates for eventual "Canadianization" (Avery, 1979:8).

A pre-eminent industrial power, Britain provided much of the capital necessary for this development. With the dominant role that Britain and British origin Canadians played in the economic and political spheres of Canada "Canadianization" meant Anglophone assimilation. The settlement of the west by non-British immigrants

and the participation of the migrants in the Canadian economy strengthened the Anglophone economic domination and laid the foundations for the industrialization of Ontario. At the same time the French Canadians of Quebec were migrating to the United States in search of a better economic life. Only the population derived from a high French Canadian birth rate maintained the relative proportions of the Anglophone and Francophone population. However, while the Francophone population was still mainly of French ethnic origin, the British component of the Anglophone population began to decline.

Many of the migrant workers returned home or moved on to the U.S.A. but substantial numbers settled in Canada, became citizens, and raised families. Most of these late 19th and early 20th century immigrants settled in the prairies of western Canada resulting in a much more ethnically diverse population in the west than in the former French and British colonies. The British origin population, while the largest, represented 50-60% of the population compared to the 80%+ of the other Anglophone provinces. The French origin population of the prairie provinces, representing about 6% of the population, was only another minority in the 40-50% non-British population and as a collectivity was outnumbered by both German and Ukrainian origin settlers (B. & B. Report Book 4, 1969:258-265).

A second surge of immigration occurred during the economic boom of the late 1940's and the 1950's. The 1961 census indicated that 26% of the Canadian population was of non-British, non-French ethnic

and cultural origin, and the first language of 14% of the population was neither French or English. In contrast to the earlier wave of immigration which had populated the prairies, these immigrants settled in the industrial and urban areas of Canada and the central region of Canada, in particular Ontario, was strengthened as the industrial and economic centre of the Canadian state. With the industrialization of Canada concentrated in Ontario and Anglophone Quebec, regional economic disparities were exacerbated.

However, the use of immigration as a tool in industrial policy had ramifications besides those on the economic development of Canada. The relationship between the Angloceltic and French Canadian communities established by the terms of confederation was altered. This happened in two stages. Not only did the prairies have a more ethnically diverse population, but the pattern of bloc settlement allowed for the establishment and maintenance of ethnic communities that were neither Angloceltic or French Canadian. This resulted in a de facto cultural pluralism in the more recently settled western region of Canada in contrast to the English/French dualism of eastern Canada. It was the immigrants of the post World War II period who settled in the urban industrial centers of Ontario and Quebec that changed the English/French relationship in eastern Canada. Moreover, this later addition to the ethnic diversity of the Canadian population occurred at the same time as did the social and economic changes associated with an advanced industrial economy.

By 1960 these social changes associated with industrialization had culminated within the Quebec Francophone community as the so called "quiet revolution." Perceiving themselves as disadvantaged both economically and politically within the Canadian state the French Canadians of Quebec organized. While part of the Francophone community pressured for a 'better deal' within confederation, Quebec nationalists conceptualizing themselves as the 'white niggers of America' demanded outright separation from Canada, and the creation of an independent Quebec state. The growing tension and the threat to the territorial integrity of Canada brought about the creation in 1963 of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to recommend what steps should be taken to develop an "equal partnership between the two founding races" (Pg 3 Vol 4). Under the terms of reference of the commission Canada was to be officially a bilingual, bicultural state and in 1969 the Canadian government brought in the Official Languages Act making Canada officially a bilingual French/English nation. During the public hearings of the Commission the "non-charter" ethnic groups made representation that rejected biculturalism, arguing that Canada be conceived of as a multi-ethnic and multicultural society. The ideological framework for the integration of Canadian society advanced by the "non-charter" ethnic groups was the cultural pluralism model of multiculturalism.

In 1969 Parliament passed the Official Languages Act making both English and French the official languages of Canada. However, on October 8, 1971 the Prime Minister of Canada, the Hon. P.E. Trudeau proclaimed in the House of Commons a policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" (House of Commons Debates 1971). This was his Government's official response to Volume 4 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Canada was to have no "official" culture; cultural diversity was to be the essence of Canadian identity (House of Commons Document 1971:3). In 1972 a minister of state for multiculturalism was appointed and in 1973 the Canadian Consultive Council on Multiculturalism was established to advise the minister. The official French/English dualism which characterized the British North American colony from the conquest of 1760, and the Canadian state from the time of confederation in 1867 was modified. English and French language rights (section 16) and multiculturalism (section 27 and 15) were both entrenched in the Canadian Constitution of 1981 (Canada Act 1981:6-10). The two official languages were to be used in the political and economic sphere but neither language was to be associated exclusively with a particular cultural identity. In short, the effect of government policy was an attempt to separate language issues from cultural issues, economic issues from social-cultural ones.

Theoretical approaches as divergent as those of Marx, Weber, and Parsons assumed that as nation states become more industrialized, group identification based on a perceived shared cultural background would be replaced by a group identification based on class or socio-economic status (Glazer and Moyniham, 1975). The a priori assumption was one of cultural and structural assimilation - an increased cultural homogeneity - in those industrializing states which were plural societies. Ethnicity and culture, if they were considered at all by social scientists studying industrial societies, were examined on a personal, behavioural basis or perceived as a social problem in these societies; a failure to properly assimilate into the mainstream of the industrial society. Thus ethnicity was said to be a feature which prevailed only in non-industrial societies and as these societies industrialized and became rational societies, ethnicity and its associated cultural behaviour would become a thing of the past. However, the increasing saliency of cultural origin or ethnicity as a source of group identity in intergroup relationships, especially in the advanced industrial nation states of Europe and North America since the end of the war in 1945, has created major practical and theoretical problems in general academic political thinking and has provided an important challenge to social anthropology.

I will demonstrate that the salience of ethnicity in industrial societies is related to the use of ethnicity by social actors as a political resource in social conflict over the structural allocation and distribution of resources within a particular society. It will be necessary first to examine the concept of ethnicity itself, distinguishing the difference between its cognitive and structural aspects before discussing the processes of social conflict in general. Social conflict involves the attempt by some members of a society to make a change in how the societal resources are distributed; a change in the structural relationships of the society which are the result of a particular historic development. It will, therefore, be necessary to examine the political/economic development of Canada through history in order to trace and determine the particular structural conditions under which ethnicity became salient. Finally, two cases of social conflict - the French Canadian challenge to confederation in the 1960's and the non-charter ethnic groups challenge to the terms of reference of the B. & B. Commission and the relationship between them will be discussed.

Ethnicity

Many social scientists using the term 'ethnicity' find it unnecessary to define it. There appears to be a general assumption that ethnicity refers to the ordering of the social world into categories defined by reference to the idea of a common origin, thus leading to a perception of a shared ancestry and cultural heritage. Beyond this general concensus that ethnicity refers to a perceived shared cultural identity, there has been a lack of precision in the use of the concept. It is necessary to keep in mind that ethnicity as a theoretical tool involves at least two distinct conceptual categories, a cognitive category and a structural category (Manyoni, 1978; Mitchell, 1974). The cognitive category involves the analyst's construction of the ethnic group based on cultural attributes which are abstracted as ethnic identity or the ethnic unit. The patterns of behaviour or relationships that arise as actors make use of ethnic identity in social interaction is a property of the structural category of ethnicity. Manyoni (1978;33) claims that there has been a tendency in social science research not to make a distinction between these two conceptual categories.

Kunstadter (1978) while agreeing with the conceptual division between the cognitive and structural aspects of ethnicity, emphasizes a further structural distinction between an ethnic group and ethnic category. There is general concensus at least in political anthropology, that an ethnic group is formed through the consciously

organized action of its participants, being made up of persons who, on the basis of a common cultural tradition, share similar consciousness, mutual interest, outlook, and a predisposition to behave as a group with a definite focus of action, ideology and leadership (Kunstadter, 1978:119-120; Chinoyi, 1967:45; Manyoni, 1978:34; Vincent, 1974:377; Cohen, R., 1978:386). Ethnic categories are the result of the categorization of people into classes based on real or presumed cultural features. Implied in the categorization is more or less standardization of behaviour toward the members of the category by others. Ethnic categories, however, do not necessarily correspond to ethnic groups even when the same name is shared because being a member of an ethnic category does not involve conscious action on the part of the member but rather ascription.

There has been a tendency, at least historically, for the social science disciplines of anthropology and sociology to focus on different conceptual aspects of ethnicity. The concept of ethnicity which has had major use in sociology was defined by Weber (1947 printed in Parsons et al 1961) as a perception of common descent extending beyond kinship, and involving political solidarity, common customs, language, values, and morality. Ethnicity is seen as a complex of socio-cultural features differentiating one ethnic unit or group from another. Membership in such groups is shown to have an effect on some social variable or variables. Ethnicity has theoretical significance as a structural

phenomenon. Combined with the theoretical assumption that cultural and structural assimilation of minorities into the dominant ethnic group was a basic feature of industrializing societies, this structural approach tended to be concerned with the rate or degree of cultural assimilation, viewing the retention of different socio-cultural features by ethnic collectivities as a failure to integrate and thus a social problem for the majority culture to which these social scientists belonged.

Anthropological concepts of ethnicity are summarized by Barth (1969) as generally involving four elements: (1) a biologically self-perpetuating population; (2) shared cultural values and behaviours; (3) shared interaction and communication; (4) a social unit or group which identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category different from other categories of the same type. Historically, the anthropological focus was on the culture content of a social formation understood within its own context. This focus on ethnic isolates or 'tribes' by anthropologists tended to so conceptually isolate the ethnic unit that different socio-cultural forms were perceived as the relatively self-contained responses to or outcomes of local ecological adaptation (Barth, 1969;11).

The work of social anthropologists in the immediate post World War II period pointed out the salience of ethnicity not only in the political-economic struggle between native and colonizer, but

also between the native communities of different ethnic origins who became partners in the newly emerging nation states. By the 1950's, it became increasingly difficult to defend the isolated ethnic unit or 'tribe'; and not only because isolated "primitive" tribes had virtually vanished. There were also major social changes occurring in the industrial societies of Europe and North America. Large scale migration of both refugees and workers following the post-war economic boom occurred throughout the industrialized world increasing the diversity of the ethnic composition of most states. The improved technologies of transportation, travel and communication allowed individuals to maintain or re-establish ethnic ties with their country of origin. The salience of ethnicity was not restricted to the newly emerging states but manifested itself in the established states of Europe and North America. There was a conceptual weakness in equating the territorial-political organization called a nation state and the ethnic identity of the persons within the boundaries of the state organization as the same. Nationality and ethnicity are not necessarily the same thing.

The research of social anthropologists J.C. Mitchell (1956, 1960, 1966) and A. Epstein (1958), who focused on the black African worker in an urban and industrial context, drew attention to the way in which individuals utilized ethnicity as a resource in economic and/or political situations and to the persistence of socio-cultural difference even in the same ecological context. It was clear that

categorical ethnic units were not dependent on a lack of contact and information or an absence of physical mobility. It was also pointed out (Barth, 1969:33; Boswell, 1974:336) that even a drastic reduction in the cultural differences between ethnic groups did not necessarily correlate with a reduction in the relevance of ethnic identity. Although ethnic categories are based upon socio-cultural differences, it cannot be assumed that there is a straightforward linear relationship between the degree of cultural differences that exist between interacting persons and the existence of an ethnic unit. It was in this context that Barth argued for a reappraisal of the concept of ethnicity and proposed that ethnic units be seen as forms of social organization (1969:13).

Barth theorizes that the critical feature of an ethnic category is the characteristic of self-ascription and ascription by others in terms of an individual's basic general identity determined by her/his origin and background (1969:13). An ethnic unit is formed when these widely based, subjective modes of identification are used in individual interactions among and between groups. What is of theoretical importance is not the sum of the cultural differences but the fact that some socio-cultural features associated with this general identity are regarded by the actors themselves as being significant enough to establish an ethnic dichotomy, a perception by individuals of a we/they boundary. When viewed from this perspective, the reason for the continuence of ethnic units

becomes clear; it is dependent upon the maintenance of the ethnic boundary (Barth, 1969:14). To outsiders, the perceived boundary becomes important in order to distinguish one group from another. To the insider, the boundary is important in confirming the sense of communal identity; one perceives oneself in opposition to the other. The location of the processes for the maintenance of the perceptual boundary of the we/they dichotomy thus becomes the focus of research and theory. This theoretical shift directs attention to the fact that the cultural features of the ethnic units, the socio-cultural characteristics of the members, even the cultural features deemed significant by the unit members may change while the ethnic dichotomy we/they remains. It is the perception of the dichotomy or boundary by individual actors that is significant.

Ethnicity from this viewpoint puts a primary focus on individual behaviour. Ethnicity as a social phenomenon is studied in terms of individual strategies especially in situations of political/economic competition or conflict. The theoretical utility of conceptualizing ethnicity as a manipulatory resource was demonstrated by the primarily political and/or economic studies of the Barth (1969) and Cohen (1974) collections.

This initial preoccupation with the individual transactional nature of ethnicity was to be perceived as inadequate. Cohen's own work on the manipulation of symbols led him to argue (1974:xii) that an ethnic group was not just the sum total of

its individual members and their strategies. What is often missing for the analyst is an explanation for the potency of the normative symbols identified with ethnicity which the individual manipulates. Cohen goes on to state that an individual can manipulate ethnicity only if he/she becomes a part of the ethnic group and thus becomes subject in turn to manipulation by other members of the group. Members of ethnic groups will generally attempt some form of collective impression management. This includes attempts to restrict public displays of ethnic identity by group members to features acceptable to non-members and to create an ethnic image (stereotype) which will "pay off" (Lyman & Douglas, 1973:348). The price the individual pays for the ethnic resource is participation in the manipulation of the group's symbols and at least some adherence to the group's aims.

Studies demonstrated that the position of the perceived ethnic boundary is not necessarily static but often dynamic; that ethnicity is not only the most general or widest identity but rather can be broadened or narrowed in group terms as the needs for political mobilization require (Kunstadter, 1978:120; Vincent, 1974:376; R. Cohen, 1978:386). Moreover ethnicity does not have just a social or interactional dimension but also a societal or structural one. The ethnic boundary is not maintained by one ethnic group alone but exists only in relationship with at least one other ethnic group. The shifting or, even more important, the

actual removal or creation of the ethnic boundary is dependent on both or all the interacting groups. Individuals or groups wishing to abandon their ethnic identity cannot always do so. The other group, especially if it is the dominant one, may be reluctant to dissolve the ethnic boundary (Hannerz, 1974:46).

Ethnicity, as I understand it, is closely linked to the context of situations (Handleman, 1977; Vincent, 1974, 1978; R. Cohen, 1978). It provides only one set in a system of statues including occupation, education and sex which can serve to categorize people (Vincent, 1974:377). In social interactions, individuals or groups of individuals choose from their status repertory which status will best serve their interest (Vincent, 1974:377; Lyman & Douglas, 1973:361). Often ethnicity is not used in interaction because it is not in anyone's interest to utilize this particular status. The degree to which ethnicity enters interaction thus varies and ethnicity itself is a variable. Although, theoretically, the actor(s) is perceived as having freedom of choice, it is imperative to remember that the structuring of social relationships in any society places constraints on the extent to which an actor is free to choose one status rather than another in any situation. Where ethnicity is concerned, it is important to distinguish the situations in which the ethnic status is or can be freely chosen as a resource from those situations in which an ethnic status is imposed as a consequence of the structural relationships.

An important structural feature in any social formation is how power is distributed. Power in the final analysis is the ability of an actor or group of actors to impose her/his/their will on others and reap the rewards of such an imposition. Cohen (1974a, b), Depres (1975) and Parkin (1974) among others argue that the fundamental issue in any society is the conflict over the distribution of power. Having power gives individuals access to and control over the human, ideological and material resources of a society. According to Cohen (1974a:94-97; 1974b:xv) ethnicity is primarily a political phenomenon. It is the result of a political struggle between groups, one or all of whom utilize as one of the symbols of group identity and solidarity the perception of common origin and cultural heritage expressed as ethnicity. Ethnicity in this case becomes a political resource to be manipulated, acting as a metaphor for the fundamental conflict over the distribution of power and the resultant rewards. As previously stated, the value of ethnicity as a resource varies. In some situations, it is a resource to be mobilized to the advantage of those employing it; in other situations, it will have no value or meaning and other resources will be employed; in still other situations ethnicity is a liability and is to be denied if at all possible (Wallman, 1979:ix). It is perhaps the rather fluid nature of ethnicity that has tended to focus more attention on defining ethnicity as a phenomenon rather than on understanding the nature and conditions of the

social relationships in which ethnicity is salient.

In 1945, Louis Wirth wrote that ethnicity was a recognized distinction between groups which was based in inequality; with some groups dominant (majority group) and others minorities - i.e. they are consistently deprived of access to valued resources. Wirth's basic assumption was that ethnic difference lacked significance in situations of relative equality. Vincent (1974:377-378) notes that ethnicity is a broader socio-cultural category than minority/majority, and that the later concept can be applied only to those ethnic relationships that are stratified. She argues that minorities, while they may be conceptualized in ethnic as well as linguistic, radial or religious terms, are a component of the political structure of complex state societies, being even at times written into the constitution. Ethnic groups are consciously organized for political action, mobilizing individuals who choose ethnicity as instrumental in achieving their goals. Ethnic groups are features of political organization rather than political structure and are distinct from ethnic minorities in that they are always purposeful (Vincent, 1974: Kunstadter, 1978). The fact that ethnic groups are consciously organized for political purposes does not deny that ethnic groups can have non-political goals as well. What is of theoretical importance, however, and a matter for empirical investigation are the political processes of ethnic group formation and of political change in which ethnic minorities become ethnic groups.

As the foregoing discussion indicates, ethnic group formation is a continuous cultural process of boundary maintenance and redefinition (Cohen 1978:397). Cohen (1978:397) argues that the modern industrial nation state has increased the importance of ethnicity by increasing the value and scarcity of goals and rewards and the number of competing situations. In modern nation states, this increased competition means that more political resources are needed in the conflict over scarce resources. If individuals of a section of society feel themselves blocked from achieving desired rewards because of their particular socio-cultural distinctions or feel that their particular socio-cultural distinctions will give them an advantage, then ethnicity has potential importance. It can be used as a political resource in the processes of social conflict.

It is the use of ethnicity as a political resource in social conflict in the Canadian situation that I will examine. In Chapter 2, the conceptual approach of conflict theory and its applicability in the political process of ethnic group formation will be discussed. Chapter 3 contains a brief outline of the political economic development of Canada in order to provide the situational context within which ethnicity is salient. In Chapter 4, I will analyse the position of the Francophone community and the conditions leading up to the ethnic confrontation during the 1960's. Chapter 5 will continue the analysis of ethnic group formation in Canada with a discussion of the history of the non-British non-French

origin Canadians and their response to the proposed changes in the relationship between the Anglophone and Francophone communities in the Canadian state. Chapter 6 will draw together some conclusions and present some of the implications for further research questions to be examined. All the data for the analysis is obtained from secondary sources. Major secondary sources utilized are the studies and reports commissioned by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and the briefs submitted to the commission on behalf of ethnic groups; Census reports, especially 1871, 1961, 1971; Canada Yearbooks, published by Statistics Canada (formerly Dominion Bureau of Statistics); and immigrations statistics published yearly by Manpower and Immigration Canada. Other important data sources are the studies of Canada's economic elite by J. Porter and W. Clement; the studies of immigration patterns by F. Hawkins and A. Richmond; and the study of immigrant adjustment and intergration based on the 1971 census data by A. Richmond and W. Kalbach.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CONFLICT: THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING A CANADIAN IDENTITY

Introduction

Swartz (1969) has stated that when anthropologists study political behaviour, they choose one of two fundamental orientations, either a structural approach or a processual one. Kurtz (1979) comments that while this may have been true, there is a reviving interest in the third area of political economy models. He goes on to argue that what is needed in political anthropology is a greater synthesis of these approaches.

The structural approach goes back to the emergence of political anthropology as a sub-discipline in the 1940's when the theoretical orientation in social anthropology was a structural functional one. The political structures of a society were viewed as one aspect of the overall social structure and because a society was conceptualized as a permanent stable structure, political phenomena were examined from the perspective of their contribution to the maintenance and preservation of social order and stability. The interest of M.G. Smith (1956, 1974) in the processes that led to structural change extended the structural approach to look at politics as a system of action. Smith defined political activity as a competition for power between political units. For Smith,

structural components were units of action.

The work of Smith notwithstanding, general dissatisfaction with the static orientation of the structural functional model, and the tendency to ignore the fact that the action components of structure are composed of individual political actors led anthropologists such as Swartz, Turner and Van Velsen to reject structure as a unit of reality and study. The processualists argue that a structure represents an imposition of a category (often preconceived) on the part of the analyst upon the phenomena (Jurtz 1979:39). The focus in the processual approach is on individual behaviour and action, on the conflict and competitive activity taking place between individuals and groups in the struggle for power. A major criticism of this emphasis on process is that it tends to bog down in micro-events while ignoring the patterning of behaviour that can be described as social forms.

Theorists such as Barth (1959, 1966) and Bailey (1979) bridge this gap between structure and process. They neither ignore structures nor take them for granted, viewing them instead as rules which govern the behaviour of individuals in an activity. An important aspect of this approach is the view that resources are differentially distributed in a society and this structural feature is manipulated by both dominant and subordinate actors in the competition between groups and individuals.

The relationship between a particular distribution of resources in a society and the political behaviours of the actors in that society is the focus of a political economic approach. The major aim of the political economy approach is the understanding of the processes which result in qualitative change in the institutions of a society. A fundamental assumption is that control of economic resources is significant in the historical development of political leadership and power. Kurtz (1979:49,55) argues that a political economy model provides a systemic means to synthesize the insights of both processual and structural approaches. A comprehensive political anthropology should include the behaviour of individual actors, the rules under which they participate in political behaviour, and the historic and structural context in which individual actors and groups interact.

Social Conflict

Conflict theory as an explanatory model for understanding human behaviour as observed in social organization and conceptualized as social structure traces its origins back beyond Marx to Hobbs, Socrates, and Plato. The basic assumption of conflict theory holds that cooperative behaviour and thus social organization has its origin in the contradicting but interrelated needs and interests of humans, rather than flowing directly from group concensus (Horowitz 1962:179). From this theoretical position,

the analytical concept of social structure is best perceived as a dynamic balance of disharmonious contending parts, subject to redefinition and change. Social conflict and structural change in a society can thus be viewed as the result of the attempts by the members of a social formation to solve the important problems of survival and continuity which constantly confronts them (Korpi 1978).

Any social conflict situation is interactional in that the parties to a conflict must be in contact and a certain amount of interaction will occur even before social conflict exists (Coser 1956:37). As well, the parties in a conflict are composed of individuals who make the decision to become involved in the conflict on a personal individual assessment of the situation. However, social conflict comes about as the result of the structural processes of resource (material and social) allocation within a social system. A conflict situation is a struggle over how the resources in society are to be distributed among different collectivities or parties. Social conflict has a structural property and as such can be defined as all relationships between sets of individuals that involve differences of objective (Coser 1956, 1967; Dahrendorf 1959:135).

In any social formation, resource distribution is essentially a political process. Those with political power control the distribution, thus power is a major independent variable involved in social conflict. While there are numerous definitions of power, there is general agreement with Weber that power is the ability of

an actor or group of actors to impose her/his/their will on others. The resource of social power can be used very subtly because one of the consequences of power includes the capacity to impose, even create, a particular construction of reality (Cohen and Camaroff 1976). It is this capacity of those with power to impose a particular construction of reality explaining and justifying the institutional order which legitimizes both power relationships and the structural distribution of resources (Berger and Luckmann 1966:92-129). Legitimacy involves an agreement or concensus that a particular institutional order is "right" in the moral sense, therefore, even individuals who are unhappy with their resource allocation may define this as unsatisfactory only if they perceive that such resource distribution is illegitimate. Social power can also be used more openly through the ability to monopolize the use of overt force. The extent to which the resource distribution process produces social conflict and change depends upon:

1) The extent to which the outcomes of current solutions are defined by members of the social formation as unsatifactory.
2) The actual possibilities for persons to affect change in their life circumstances (Clark et al 1975; Korpi 1978).

The interactions of conflict relationships may range along a continuum from the transactions of negotiation and bargaining to violent confrontations and war (Dahrendorf 1959:135; Rex 1961:123; Schelling 1960:4-5; Patchen 1970:389-408). It is

readily apparent that all social formations must maintain social mechanisms which will serve to resolve social conflict, if not to preserve the status quo then at least to contain the conflict so as to preserve the basic ability to function of the social formation. Dahrendorf (1959) argues that in advanced industrial societies such mechanisms are so institutionalized and pervasive that the direction of the conflict is often channelled and thereby diffused, reducing the intensity of any particular conflict so that even the status quo is rarely seriously challenged. Other intervening variables which have been outlined by Dahrendorf (1959:213-217) as affecting the intensity of class conflict, but which appear to be equally applicable to most social conflict including that in which ethnicity is a political resource, are:

1) Pluralism versus superimposition:

   In a plural society where individuals develop allegiances to groups with varying, often contradictory, interests and goals, any particular conflict situation tends to be less intense. For example, class differences between the members of an ethnic collectivity would create a divergence of allegiance such that ethnic group formation would be hindered, reducing the intensity of ethnic conflict. However, when a common class identity is imposed on an ethnic collectivity, the overlapping allegiances would enhance the conditions for ethnic group formation and an ethnic conflict could intensity.

2) Openness of the social structure or mobility:
Societies which have a relatively open opportunity structure allowing individuals to move up and down would appear to have more diffuse social conflict. In such societies, collectivities should tend to remain individualistic as each member tries to achieve mobility on her/his own merit. Thus, where ethnicity is concerned, it would be in those societies in which members of ethnic collectivities come to perceive that lack of mobility is due to ethnic discrimination rather than a personal lack that ethnic group formation and ethnic conflict would increase.

3) Distribution of resources and "rewards":
Exclusion from resources and lack of "rewards" - be they economic, status or political - tends to increase conflict. Members of ethnic collectivities who come to perceive that their exclusion is related to their ethnic identity would tend to act together as an ethnic group thus increasing ethnic conflict.

Korpi (1978:35) suggests that non-violent conflicts be viewed metaphorically as bargaining situations with the analysis being carried out within the framework of exchange theory with the caveat that the parties in these exchanges must not be assumed to have equal access to power resources. In fact, the difference in power resources between parties can be used as the central independent

variable. The major intervening variables are (a) the utility of reaching a goal; (b) the expectancy of success; (c) the perceived deprivation based on the level of aspiration and the dependent variable is the probability of manifest social conflict between parties (Korpi 1978:35).

Transaction between two parties can be characterized by a going rate of exchange according to which the transactions of the parties are executed. Transactional behaviour takes place with reference to a set of values which gives incentives and constrains choices, and with reference to the currently established matrix of statuses (Barth 1966:5). These values and the status matrix provide the frame of reference under which the going rate of exchange (Korpi 1978) is negotiated and established. Establishing the rate of exchange is, of course, in itself a bargaining or conflict situation. Korpi (1978:36) argues that the going rate of exchange is primarily determined by differences in power resources between parties in exchange. Thus, the availability of power resources other than those directly concerned in the exchange can affect exchange rates.

Mobilization of power resources involves two processes (Korpi 1978:37). (1) The process whereby a party uses the power resources under its control and (2) the process by which a party acquires control over new power resources. Korpi argues that the organizational forms that have occurred in advanced industrial

societies to coordinate action within various voluntary groups have resulted in persons acquiring organizational skills that have become a major new power resource for property-less (those with little economic power) groups. In long term exchange relationships, the power relationship does not necessarily remain static, especially when there are opportunities to develop or access power resources.

The collective behaviour of individuals that characterize social conflict is a response to situations which have the common feature that people are discontented because they do not believe that satisfactory institutional guides exist to guide behaviour (Clark et al 1975). Clark et al (1975:3) terms this condition perceived institutional deficiency. The perceived aspect of the concept is stressed because what is important is the individual's perception or belief that there is a deficiency. People are dissatisfied either with the way their society is actually operating or because some institutional guides are inconsistent with other institutional guides. A common inconsistency is that between what people believe the institutional guides define as "just" distribution of rewards (aspirations) and what people actually receive (achievement). People perceive that they suffer deprivation and are discontent with the situation. It is when such discontent or feeling of deprivation is relatively high that social conflict occurs.

The level of aspiration can also be affected by the perceived power differential between parties in exchange. Rex (1961:181-182) argues that the stronger party will use its power to "engineer consent" and influence the weaker party to accept as legitimate the rules for, and the going rate of, exchange in the relationship. Thibaut and Kelley (1959:Chapter 6) argue that in the long run, the weaker party will tend to adjust its aspiration level toward the going rates of exchange in the relationship.

Each party in a bargaining situation is assumed to evaluate the outcomes according to its normative expectations, in this case level of aspiration, or expectation, which will indicate what outcomes are evaluated positively, i.e. just or fair. When bargaining fails to bring the going rate above the aspiration level of a party, three outcomes are possible (Korpi 1978:36): (1) Exchange may still take place especially if the party lacks alternatives. (2) The relationship can be terminated. (3) Conflict can occur over the terms of the relationship.

In an exchange relationship the decision to challenge the going rate of exchange (or the rules of exchange) is based on an assessment by the challenger of: 1) the power difference between the parties in light of the power resources that can be mobilized by both parties; 2) the perceived deprivation;

3) the expected success of the challenge; (Korpi 1978:39). It is apparent that both through personal and vicarious experience, people learn that the strongest party in an exchange can get the best bargain. Korpi (pg 39) argues that the more a party perceives that the balance of power is in its favour, the higher is its level of aspiration in the relationship and the more likely it is to challenge the relationship if achievement does not match aspiration.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA: ETHNICITY AS A TOOL OF DEVELOPMENT

The Canadian state was created in 1867 by a confederation of British colonies in North America under the terms of the B.N.A. Act. The development of Canada as a nation state has occurred within the framework of a capitalist economic system. Capitalist economies are characterized by production for the market, and the right to own and control private property and to accumulate private capital either by individuals or groups of individuals. A key feature of capitalism is the idealogical stress placed on the freedom of the individual to seek profits by production and competition in the market and to thus accumulate property (capital).

The capitalist state must try to fulfil two basic functions, accumulation and legitimization. Given the ideological stress on the right to own and accumulate private property, one of the ways in which a capitalist state may legitimate itself is to assist in the accumulation of private property. However, the government of a capitalist state that uses its state powers to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of the other classes tends to lose its legitimacy with those classes which are deprived and consequently its support. Thus, the institutions of the state must produce and reproduce the conditions for profit and capital

accumulation and, at the same time, preserve or produce the conditions necessary to sustain relationships of social harmony (O'Connor 1973:6). Capitalist states are constantly involved in a dynamic balancing of these often contradictory functions in order to preserve the status quo power relationships. It is important to keep in mind that the activities of the state and the nature and form of state institutions are both an instrument and a reflection of the distribution of power between the major collectivities in the society.

The relationship between the Angloceltic and Francophone populations has dominated the economic and political life of the territory of Canada. As colonial powers, France and Britain regarded their North American colonies as sources of raw materials and later as a marketplace for finished goods and settled them according. When the British gained sovereignty over the French colony in North America, a Francophone population was well established. The French community in New France was organized under the French seigneurial system and when Britain assumed sovereignty this social organization was preserved in line with the British policy of ethnic pluralism. Ossenburg (1967) and Pentland (1981) note that the seigneurial elite, who were being challenged by the developing merchant class of New France, were strengthened when the British took control of the developing Canadian economy. When the British choose to deal with the seigneurial elite, the change

from the feudal seigneurial economy to a mercantile one was aborted and the merchants, farmers and working class population of New France were denied this avenue to economic development. It was, of course, advantageous to the seigneurs and clergy for them to maintain a separate French Canadian social structure, preserving their dominant position within the Francophone community and allowing them to benefit as brokers and middlemen between the British and the French Canadians of New France. The institutional separation of French and English society under the British policy of indirect colonial rule effectively excluded the French Canadians from elite positions in a developing Canadian economy - first mercantile expansion in the staple export trade and then the later industrialization.

At the time of the conquest French Canadians were in the majority in the territory which was to become Canada and continued so until at least 1815 (Morton 1963:4). Francophones also had a slight majority in the population when the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada united in the Province of Canada. By the census of 1851, however, the largely Anglophone population of Canada West (Ontario), swelled by the heavy immigration of rural and urban poor from England, Scotland and Ireland, outnumbered the largely Francophone population of Canada East (Quebec) 952,004 to 890,261 (Census of Canada 1870-71 Vol IV. Ottawa:Queen's Printer 1876). In the one hundred year span of 1763 to 1867, from the conquest

until confederation, the French Canadian community remained largely rural. Ossenburg (1967:216-217) indicates that in the period prior to the conquest, the cities of New France were increasing in size, with approximately 25% of the population living in Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers in 1760. He argues that this was an indication of a trend towards urbanization and the beginnings of an economic change from the feudal seigneural economy to a mercantile one. This trend was largely aborted because up until the time of confederation, the proportion of French Canadians living in cities did not change significantly (Census of Canada 1870-71 Vol IV). In short, under British colonial rule, there occurred the phenomena of underdevelopment in French Canada.

Spurred by the development of a transportation network, roads, canals, shipping, the growth of manufacturing began transforming the Canadian economy in the mid nineteenth century. Anglophone Canada West (Ontario) with its market orientated agriculture and access to British capital initially provided the most fertile ground for the change (Pentland 1981:170). Immigration from Britain provided the necessary labour supply, skilled craftsmen from the British cities, and a large pool of unskilled labour - mainly Irish - mobile and willing to work for low wages. The industrialization of Canada East (Quebec) was much slower and was largely established and manned by skilled Anglophones (Pentland 1981:77). It was from this economic framework that the Canadian

state was created.

The confederation of British colonies in North America which established the Canadian state was to institutionalize the position of French Canadians as an ethnic minority. The basic form of the Canadian state was already established prior to 1867 and the B.N.A. Act in the structure of the Province of Canada formed in 1840 with the union of the British colonies of Upper and Lower Canada. The Province of Canada was created primarily to serve the economic interests of the Anglophone businessmen in Upper Canada and Montreal (Stevenson 1977:74-75; Glenday 1980:43), however, the resulting sectional duality of the legislative body gave the Francophones of Canada East (Quebec) equal representation with the Anglophones of Canada West (Ontario). The French Canadians gained political recognition of their separate cultural identity. This recognition was entrenched under the terms of confederation spelled out in the B.N.A. Act. While the French Canadians under Cartier accepted a minority position in the new Canadian state this was a considerable achievement for a conquered people. There was the recognition of the French Canadian community as a distinct and culturally separate society from the Angloceltic one. This recognition was institutionalized as Quebec was granted a guaranteed representation in both the House of Parliament and the Senate, and as a province, a territorial base with autonomy over such areas as education and welfare by statute.

The major factor influencing the Anglophone elite of the British colonies in what was to become Canada to seek the political union of a state during the mid nineteenth century was economic. The Canadian economy was evolving from a staple production and local market economy into a mercantile, and long distance trade and pre-industrial manufacturing one (Pentland 1981:158-165). The infant manufacturing industries of central Canada would be best served if protected against the rapidly growing British industrial expansion and the consequent British free trade policy. Under the Navigation Act,the British state had protected its home manufacturing market during its early stage of industrialization and the Canadian manufacturing leaders wished to do the same. The vigorous American economy was also a threat to the unprotected, less developed Canadian economy. The farmers of Canada West (Ontario) favoured a Canadian confederation to open up the cheap agricultural land of the prairies while the Anglophone mercantile elite of Canada East (Quebec) and the Maritimes looked to confederation to improve their trade and shipping interests (Stevenson 1977:74-76). The economic self-interest of the Anglophone business elite provided the political climate for a political union and the Francophone Territory of Canada East (Quebec) dominated by the Anglophone merchants was important to an integrated Canadian economy.

The terms of confederation allowed the French Canadians of Canada East (Quebec) to maintain their cultural autonomy. There were also economic advantages to inclusion in a centralized and integrated Canadian economy. Pentland (1981:166-167) argues that the French elite in the Francophone colony, especially the church, preferred to maintain the rural peasant type economy, however, a rapidly growing population was taxing the current economy. Farmland was scarce and there were few alternate sources of income in the Francophone economy. This resulted in substantial emigration from Quebec to the U.S. Industrialization, even under Anglophone domination, would at least keep the population at home and was to be preferred over emigration. Essentially, the Francophone community moved from a subordinate position in a British colony to a minority position in a nation state dominated by Anglophones. However, the various interests of the Francophone community could be better served if they were active participants (albeit as a minority) in a federated state rather than as a dependent colony of an imperial power, isolated politically and economically from the protected national economies in North America. Moreover, Cartier, the most prominent Francophone spokesman, did not envision a simple federation in which the will of the majority prevailed but rather emphasized a confederation based on bilingualism and biculturalism with both the British Anglophone and the French Canadian Francophone communities having equal rights to preserve

their language and culture (Anderson 1981:88).

Under the terms of the B.N.A. Act, the central state government gained control over accumulation functions, having jurisdiction over railways, shipping, money and banking, major public works and tariffs. The provinces were granted jurisdiction over what are now generally termed legitimization functions, education, welfare, hospitals, municipal government, and over land and resources. At the time of confederation, these were considered to be of minor significance to the economic elite (Stevenson 1977:75, Glenday 1980:43). The B.N.A. Act placed the provinces in the subordinate position of not allocating them the revenue sources necessary to meet their obligations, making provincial governments dependent on federal government subsidies. It was not until well into the twentieth century that provincial control of land and mineral rights would provide some provinces such as Alberta, B.C., and Ontario with sources of revenue that allowed them some financial independence from Ottawa. An independence which incidently exacerbated the problems of regional economic disparity as the "have not" provinces were still dependent on the generosity of the central government.

In confederation, the Anglophone and Francophone communities of Canada established an asymetrical structural relationship, with political and economic power at the national level residing largely with the Anglophone community. Moreover,

the political power the French Canadians wielded provincially in Quebec was not matched by a similar economic power. Within Quebec, industrialization occurred in a society with a surplus rural population, a distinctive religious and political elite, and a set of institutions based upon the rural parish (Pentland 1981; Guidon 1973). These were ideal conditions for Anglophone capitalist investment; there was an abundant source of unskilled labour in need of employment, and a politically conservative elite interested in preserving its position. Thus, the management and skilled positions could be filled without challenge by incoming Anglophones (Pentland 1981; Guidon 1979; Davis 1971). The unskilled and seasonal jobs available through industrialization provided a supplementary source of income for the rural population while leaving the position of the local elite unchallenged, preserving the traditional French Canadian society. In return, industry had ready access to a reserve labour pool, a resident supply of unskilled labour who could be hired or fired as labour needs dictated. This relationship between the Anglophone and Francophone communities continued virtually unchallenged up to and during the second world war (Guidon 1979:159).

The blueprint for the economic development of the new state was the National Policy which envisioned an east-west Canadian economy linked by a transnational railway. The industrialization of central Canada would be encouraged and protected by tariffs.

The agricultural hinterland would produce a crop for foreign trade and provide a captive market for the manufactured goods of central Canada's industry. The tariffs and railway freight rates were also designed to protect central Canadian industries from industrial competition from the prairie hinterland.

The construction and completion of a trans-Canada railway combined with the exploitation of mineral resources in B.C. and Canadian shield provided the impetus for the expansion of the Canadian economy in the early twentieth century. The protectionist National Policy adopted by the governments after confederation helped many of the infant Canadian industries survive the extended depression of the 1870's and 1880's (Clark 1968). These industries responded quickly to new economic opportunities. The exploitation of the interior mineral resources and development of the prairie wheat economy was tied to the trans-Canada railway under the National Policy and as the rail lines reached the prairies, the west became the new investment frontier for central Canada - especially the Toronto and Montreal business and financial interests (Clark 1968:99-100; Davis 1971:8). The settlement of the western prairies based on the governments' immigration policies resulted in the displacement of the aboriginal people who were shunted aside to isolated reserves and the encouragement of massive immigration from central Europe as well as from Britain and the United States.

The economic development of the Canadian colonies under both France and then Britain was tied to staple production and export. A staple is a product with a large natural resource component requiring little in the way of further processing to be marketable (Caves & Holton 1959:31). Staples theory provides a model with which to analyse political/economic development which is based on the exploitation of natural resources or staples (Glenday 1980:36). The fundamental assumption of staples theory is that the production of staple commodities for export is the dominant sector of the economy setting the pace for economic growth (Glenday 1980:35). In staple production, international trade is based on an asymetrical partnership where one partner - the staple exporter - is a passive reactor to the demand for raw materials from the staple buyer or importer. Such a partnership is typified in the colonized: colonizer relationship where the economy of the colony is dominated by the varying methods of the colonizing nation for raw materials. By the middle of the nineteenth century, each of the British colonies in North America was integrated into the British economy but in different areas. There was little or no economic integration between the various colonial regions and each region prospered or failed depending on the demand in Britain for the regional raw materials.

The Canadian resources exploited were generally what Innis (1954) terms the "hard" frontier; that is difficult to exploit, requiring massive accumulation of capital and well organized, long lines of transportation. This is in contrast to the "soft" frontier areas such as the West Indies or the southern U.S. where, with a benign climate, good soil and proximity to cheap water transport, all the exploiter needs is a cheap labour supply often in the form of slave labour to operate a staple export such as sugar or cotton. A substantial wealth can be generated by "hard" resources. However, this wealth is available primarily to those who can bring in the quantities of capital required to build transportation systems and extraction structures. The opportunity for local entrepreneurs to accumulate the required large amount of capital locally is severely limited. Initially, much of this external capital was provided by British industrial capital. However, after confederation, American capital became increasingly important and finally overtook the value of British investment in 1922 (Glenday 1980:47). In light of the extensive capital requirements of hard frontier staple production, staples theory also suggests that such a staple exporting country is characterized by what has been termed by Caves (1965) an entrepreneurial gap (quoted in Glenday 1980:36) because of the weak development of indigenous entrepreneurship. This entrepreneurial gap is filled by importing not only capital, but also technology,

and skilled labour. Canada's industrial development continued to be dependent on resource exploitation until the 1920's. It was only in this decade that manufacturing finally surpassed the primary industries (Davis 1971:7; Can Yearbooks 1928, 1929, 1930) and staple export, while no longer the major sector, remained an important aspect of the Canadian economy.

One aim of the protectionist tariffs that the Canadian governments instituted after confederation under the National Policy, was to attract foreign capital investment in building factories within the protective wall in Canada. This investment was particularly attractive to American manufacturers because it allowed them access via their Canadian branch plants into the British Empire markets which were otherwise closed to them (Glenday 1980:45). Thus, even in the manufacturing sphere, Canadian development had relied and continued to rely on foreign capital. For example, in 1926, 35% of Canadian manufacturing was foreign controlled (Perspective Canada 1974:33). This increased to 42% in 1939 and to 53% in 1970.

Studies of Canada's economic elite present evidence that Canadian society is not characterized by social mobility (Porter 1965, 1973; Clement 1975). Canada's economic elite is overwhelmingly British in origin, largely self producing, offering limited opportunities for individual Canadians to work their way to the top (Porter 1965; Clement 1975; Kilner 1970; Armstrong 1981).

Porter goes on to argue that it is not just to the elite that there is a barrier to social mobility. Canada has relied heavily on skilled and professional immigration to "upgrade" its labour force during periods of industrial growth (Hawkins 1972:41-26), i.e. to fill the entrepreneural gap. Because it is cheaper to import skilled labour than to upgrade the indigenous labour force, this has decreased social mobility for Canadian born citizens (Porter 1965:3). This reliance is still reflected even today if one looks at the current immigration policy based on the point system.

Prior to the Second World War, the Canadian manufacturing base was concentrated in central Canada in the form of branch plant factories. Branch plant factories provide employment for industrial workers but the ideas, technology, and management are often imported from the home plant in another country. For this reason, up to the post Second World War period, Canada had a numerically small middle class and few opportunities for advancement were available. The large rural and working class population were generally "isolated" from economic and political power (Clark 1976). Clark goes on to state that this lack of middle class opportunity caused upwardly mobile Canadians, particularly those with skills or advanced education to emigrate to the greener pastures of the U.S.A.

The demands of the second World War were the stimulus accelerating Canadian development resulting in the type of economy and society generally termed an advanced industrial economy. World War II rapidly stimulated the development of industry, technology, and manufacturing; soldiers were less important than the technological skills and manufacturing capacity to produce the machines of war. Canada's role in the war created the need for an expanded manufacturing capacity and the creation of a large trained urban labour force. The social and economic changes generated by the war continued into the post war period culminating in the emergence of a large, well educated "new" middle class (Guindon 1973:156-157; Clark 1976). In contrast to the self-employed, entrepreneurial character of the traditional middle class, the "new" middle class is a bureaucratically employed, professional and semi-professional white collar group, the product of what Guindon (1873:156) terms the bureaucratic revolution. Responding to the state directed industrialization to meet the war effort, the increasing size of the urban population created a need for the development and expansion of urban institutions such as schools, technical institutions, hospitals, welfare systems, etc. to serve the urban population. Responding to the presence of a skilled urban work force and accompanying the expansion of urban institutions was an expansion in the size of many industrial enterprises and the establishment of many others. The expanding urban institutions and industries became

large-scale organizations characterized by a bureaucratic expansion of organization and an increased specialization of jobs. The need for diversified staffs of specialists, well educated and trained, opened new opportunities of upward mobility into this new middle class. In 1946, service occupations - professionals, managers, white collar workers - accounted for 16.8% of the labour force; in 1956, this had increased to 20.3% and by 1968 to 29.5% of the work force was employed in the service category (Canada Yearbook 1968:759). In the same time period, agriculture and other primary industries declined from 29.4% of the work force to 10.6%, while manufacturing remained fairly stable showing a slight decline from 26% to 23.8% of the work force.

Canada's economic development changed the opportunity climate for Canadians growing up and reaching maturity in the post war decades of the 1950's and 1960's. Across Canada, people were remaining in school longer. By 1971, 98.5% of males and 97.1% of females 14 to 17 years of age, were enrolled in or had completed Grade 9 as compared with 66.1% and 66.8% in 1961. In 1960/61, the retention rate for Grade 11 was 49.8%; in 1970, the retention rate for Grade 11 was 80% (Education Canada 1973). They were also crowding into universities, colleges and other post secondary institutions in great numbers in order to obtain the qualifications necessary to access and maintain the middle class standard of living that ideology presented as the capitalist norm of "the good

life". The developing economy seemed to promise an opportunity for anyone who was willing to invest in an education and work at promotion.

However, rather than wait for a skilled and professional labour force to be produced within the country and accept a slower pace of economic development, Canadian governments repeated a traditional pattern and turned to immigration. A significant portion of the post war immigration wave was composed of skilled and/or professional persons who usually moved directly into the new middle class rungs of the opportunity structure. The skills and expertise of the post war immigrants certainly facilitated a rapid economic growth, however, the minor recession of the early 1960's demonstrated that neither a rapid rate of growth or even economic growth itself was assured. There was suddenly no guarantee that the opportunity structure would continue to expand and absorb the large numbers of young people graduating from the secondary and post secondary institutions in Canada. It was against this background of rising aspirations and increased expectations and the prospect of a limit in the openness of the opportunity structure that in the 1960's the French Canadian community of Quebec organized and challenged the terms of their relationship with the Anglophone community in the state of Canada.

CHAPTER IV

THE QUEBEC REVOLUTION: AN ETHNIC CHALLENGE

Introduction

Since confederation, there has been dissent against the terms of the relationship between the Anglophone and Francophone communities within the Canadian state from French Canadian nationalists. However, until the sixties, such dissent came from a small and marginal group of intellectuals with little political support within the Francophone community. These individuals could easily be dismissed as narrow minded chauvanists both within and without the French Canadian community (Guindon 1973:156). The challenge in the sixties was no longer marginal. It had official and academic support. It was public involving in various degrees, the entire Francophone community. What came to be at issue was not only the terms of the relationship between the Francophone and Anglophone communities within the Canadian federation, but a determination on the part of French Canadian separatists, who represented a significant portion of the Francophone community, to terminate the confederation relationship entirely. To understand the factors underlying a serious challenge to the terms of the Anglophone/Francophone relationship in Canada occurring at this time, it is useful to examine the Canadian opportunity structure as it affected French Canadians at this time.

Until the second World War, the mass of the Quebec French Canadian community were part of a social order denying them opportunities for advancement in an industrial state. The economic sphere was dominated by Anglophones and the language of economic mobility was English. Education was a provincial responsibility and in Quebec, was controlled by the church until after the second World War; school attendance was not compulsory until 1943 and publicly funded secondary education was not universally available in Quebec until 1950 (Pike 1980:112). The result was that the French Canadian rural and working class had a much lower level of education leaving them ill equipped for the skilled and professional jobs of an industrial society (Rocher 1975). In 1961, of the male non-agriculture labour force, 54% of those of French origin had not passed beyond the elementary level; the proportion for those of British origin was 31%, while the national average was 41% (Royal Commission on B. & B. Report Book 3. 1969:26). The economic development of Canada during the after World War II changed this.

The Quiet Revolution in Quebec involved first of all, a radical change in the delivery of education to the French Canadian community. Prior to the war, only elementary education was available to all Francophones through public funding. Post secondary education in the classical colleges was costly and thus generally restricted to the small French Canadian elite. With public funding, the post war expansion of public secondary schools saw a secondary

school enrollment increase from 60,000 in 1949-50, to more than 300,000 in 1965-55 (B. & B. Report Book 2. 1968:27). In 1960-61, the Grade XI retention rate for Quebec was 34.2% compared to a national average of 49.8%; in 1965-55, the Quebec Grade 11 retention had increased to 61.3% with the national average 66.6%; by 1970-71, the Quebec retention rate was 81.1% compared to a 80.0% national average (Education in Canada. Ottawa:Statistics Canada 1973:358).

The post war statistical increase in educational attainment in Quebec accompanied a change in the occupational structure which saw the emergence of the white collar worker as a dominant feature of the labour force. Unfortunately, the different occupational codes used in 1971 census makes direct comparisons difficult. General trends, however, can be identified. Within the white collar category, the percentage increase in the numbers of clerical workers was greatest for the 1941-1951 decade, while the professional workers expanded most rapidly during 1951-1961 decade (Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada 1974:124-125). This growth in the relative proportion of white collar workers was matched by a relative proportional decline in primary occupations with Quebec experiencing a decline significantly greater than the national average (Statistics Canada, 1971 Census 1975; Kalback & McVey 1979:291). At the same time, the relative increase in white collar workers in Quebec was above the national

average. In 1971, Quebec, along with Ontario, had the highest relative proportion of managers, professionals, clerks, and workers in manufacturing and construction occupations in Canada. Quebec shared with Ontario, the greatest expansion of the opportunity structure in Canada. However, relative to their numbers, the Francophone and Anglophone communities did not share equally in the distribution of these new opportunities.

In each province, including Quebec, and in Canada generally, individuals of French origin had a smaller than average proportion in the higher income and status occupations - managerial, professional, clerical and sales occupations - and a higher than average proportion at the other end of the occupation scale (B. & B. Report Book 3. 1969:41). In the expanding professional and managerial categories, it was persons of British origin who enjoyed the greatest advantage. John Porter (1965:87) has shown that between 1931 and 1961 the occupational position of Canadians of French origin decreased from 0.8 to 1.9 points below the national average while the position of Canadians of British origin, increased from 116 to 210 points above the national average.

The same pattern can be observed within Quebec, but in a more striking form. Quebecers of British ancestry were 3 points above the national average in 1931; by 1961, they exceeded the national average by almost 9 points (B. & B. Report. Book 3. 1969:40). Quebec residents of French origin were 1 point below

the national average in 1931; by 1961, they were 2 points below (ibid). This indicates a remarkable, even paradoxical situation. Persons of French origin, in relation to those of British origin, did better in the opportunity structure of Canada as a whole than they did in the province where they formed a majority of the population; the converse was true for those of British origin. While sixty percent of this disparity could be accounted for by the fact that persons of French origin in Quebec had, on the average, a lower level of education than those of British origin (B. & B. Report. Book 3. 1969:47) even when this factor is taken into account, persons of British ancestry were in a much more favourable position in Quebec than they were in the rest of the country. This is not so surprising when one considers that since the conquest, Anglocelts dominated the economy of the Canadian colonies and then subsequently, since confederation, the state of Canada. Porter (1968:286) found that in 1951, whole 31.8% of the population was of French origin, only 6.7% of the corporate elite were of French origin; 92.3% of the corporate elite were of British origin, as opposed to 47.9% of the population. There had been little change by 1972 (Clement 1975:46). While constituting 28.6% of the population, only 8.4% of the elite were Francophones. This small gain was offset by the fact that 86.2% of the elite were British origin while their proportion of the population had dropped to 44.7%. This economic domination occurred not only throughout

Canada as a whole, but within Quebec as well.

Quebec Business and Industry

In 1961, businesses owned by Francophone Canadians employed 47% of the provincial labour force (B. & B. Report. Book 3. 1969:53). However, these businesses were concentrated in agriculture and service industries and on the average, individually employed only a few workers. If the manufacturing sector, the backbone of an industrial economy, is examined, French Canadian owned establishments accounted for only 15.4% of the value added; Canadian Anglophone owned establishments produced 42.8% of the value added, while foreign owned (almost totally American hence also Anglophone) establishments produced 41.8% of the value added (ibid pp55, 56). Moreover, the Francophone manufacturing enterprise was smaller than its Anglophone Canadian or foreign owned equivalent. The average number of employees was 94 in Francophone businesses, 145 in the Anglo-Canadian businesses, and 332 in the Anglophone foreign owned establishments. The production of Francophone enterprises was largely for Quebec consumption. Only 4.5% of the total sales outside of Quebec came from Francophone establishments (ibid pg 58). Thus the large industrial enterprises selling in the Canadian or international market, which were most likely to have a large component of white collar workers, were Anglophone. While the language of the workplace floor might

be French, in the manager's office and the boardroom, the language of decision making was English. Thus, the language of mobility and promotion within the industrial sector of the Quebec ecomony was overwhelmingly English.

Federal Public Service

The act creating a Canadian Civil Service was passed in 1868 and while it contained no provision for a bilingual service as such, the existing organization inherited from the Province of Canada - Canada East and Canada West - did reflect the country's English/French dualism and Francophones were well represented in the initial federal bureaucracies (Beattie, Desy, Longstaff 1972:3). However, even at this early date, historical evidence indicates that Francophones resented what they considered an Anglophone monopoly of key posts (ibid pg 3). While the Act of 1868 made no provision for bilingualism, existing political conventions of patronage and the concept of representation ensured that Francophones got their share of public service jobs in the early years of confederation. This situation changed gradually. Legislation passed in 1882 introduced a provision that all candidates for public service jobs were to write an examination - in French, English or both - and appointments were to be made from the examiners' list of successful candidates. The legislation had little immediate impact on the patronage practices of the day but it did introduce the concepts of merit and efficiency into the

civil service and as the years passed, an increasing number of federal administrators felt that staffing decisions should be made on a more rational basis than political patronage (B. & B. Report, Book 3. 1969:99). The demands of the 1914 war convinced the government that the principles of merit and efficiency should be entrenched. Re-organization of the public service was implemented under the Civil Service Act of 1918, and recruitment of personnel was made the responsibility of an independent Civil Service Commission (Civil Service Commission 1959:6) under management goals of centralization, rationalization and professionalization (Beattie et al 1972:5).

These processes worked to the advantage of Anglophones for three major reasons (Beattie et al 1972). One, the standards and procedures the Commission designed to meet the principles of efficiency and merit corresponded to the educational systems of English speaking provinces. Two, the greater technical and commercial orientation of the Anglophone education systems as compared to the French classical system in Quebec, meant that graduates of the Anglophone systems were more likely to possess the qualifications deemed necessary - especially for the white collar jobs. Three, the goal of efficiency conceived by the commission and department heads involved a unilingual level of service. Given the greater numerical strength of Anglophones, both in the general population served by the public service, and

in the public service itself, the language of the Federal Public Service became English.

With English the working language of the public service, even in Quebec, unilingual Francophones had few job opportunities. However, it was not only the formal structure of the public service that discriminated against Francophones. Even bilingual Francophones whose English fluency was sufficient to allow them to work in English were handicapped. Having to function in their second language would make it more difficult for them to compete on equal terms with Anglophones for promotions and occupational mobility, especially in the management areas where the ability to use language expressively and well was important. The result was a decline in the proportion of Francophones in Canada's Public Service. Although precise numers were unavailable, one source stated that Francophones constituted 22% of the public service in 1918, but less than 13% in 1946; among those earning $6,000 or more per annum, the decline was from 25% to 10% (Canada House of Commons Debates 1946 2nd Session, IV 3520). Representational claims advanced by Francophones were attacked as endangering the merit principle, thus political considerations and cultural criteria previously operative could be put aside by the rhetoric of finding the best person for the job (Beattie et al 1972:6).

While the English-French imbalance in the public service was periodically addressed by Francophone politicians, such challenges were easily fended off until the 1960's. Studies of the sociological characteristics of members of the federal public service in the sixties indicated that up until that time, for Francophones in general, and Quebec Francophones in particular, the Federal Public Service provided relatively fewer opportunities for status and economic mobility than their Anglophone counterparts. In 1965, 22% of the persons employed in the public service were of French mother tongue, 69% were of English mother tongue (B. & B. Report, Book 3. 1969:210). The median salary of the Francophones was 5% less than Anglophones and the relative proportion of Francophones to Anglophones declined steadily as the salary level increased (ibid pg 211). In 1965, only 19.9% of the managers and 14.4% of the professionals in the public service were individuals whose mother tongue was French. While one of the reasons given for Francophone under-representation in these categories is the relative lower level of education among Francophones at this time, the Johnstone, Klein, Ledoux survey (1964) showed that Francophones had a lower salary even if education and occupational category were controlled for. The median salaries of Francophone university graduates was $2077 below those of English mother tongue and $669 below those of other mother tongues.

What is even more striking, is the geographic origin of the Francophone individuals in the public service; 43% came from the Hull/Ottawa region and a further 7.8% from other parts of Ontario, although less than 7% of the total Francophone labour force lived in Ontario. Only 36.7% came from Quebec (excluding Hull) where over three-quarters of the Francophone labour force lived (B. & B. Report, Book 3. 1969:225). It is to be expected that many of the Francophones in the public service would be from Ottawa/Hull just through proximity to the large centre of federal government employment, as was the case for Anglophones. However, the proportions of Francophones from the rest of Quebec was quite low if compared to Anglophones from the rest of Ontario. Francophones living within the French Canadian cultural millieu of Quebec were under-represented in the federal public service.

In their 1965 study of middle level public servants, Beattie et al (1972) surveyed the attitudes of these public servants concerning their jobs and chances for advancement. Only 14% of the Anglophones considered the promotion system unfair but 34% of the Francophones did, with 26% of the Francophones citing some form of cultural or language discrimination. The most favourable attitudes were from those Francophones who had joined the public service since the late 1950's. On the whole, Francophone public service employees perceived the federal public service, a service funded by the tax dollars of all Canadians for all Canadians, as

"une organization anglaise" (Beattie et al 1972).

The Francophone Challenge

As stated previously, for social conflict to occur, two sets of conditions must be present. First, some of the members of a social formation must be dissatisfied with the way resources are distributed and believe that such a distribution is illegitimate. For this to occur, individuals must perceive that they are deprived of obtaining what their society defines as just rewards; that their legitimate aspirations cannot be fulfilled. One of the key values that legitimizes the resource distribution of capitalist states is the stress on individual achievement and thus the openness of the social structure. Rather than being ascribed to a position in the social structure, the individual is perceived to be free to move up or down according to her/his ability, skills and ambition. Social conflict intensifies when people believe that their lack of mobility is related not to a personal lack of skills, ability, and ambition but to their ascribed membership in some collectivity and that they are being excluded from a fair share of societal resources and rewards for this reason (Darendorf 1959:214-217).

For the Quebec French Canadian, new middle class and the increasing numbers of persons aspiring to new middle class status graduating from Quebec's Francophone secondary and post-secondary institutions, the Anglophone dominated industry and Federal Public

Service provided less opportunities for advancement to Francophones than Anglophones even in Quebec. It was only in the expanding provincial and municipal public institutions where being a Francophone was advantageous and this opportunity structure, financed by the more limited provincial tax base, could not by itself meet the rising aspirations of Quebec Francophones. Cuneo and Curtio (1974) examined the relationship between the resurgence of French Canadian nationalism and social class. They found that French Canadian ethnic consciousness and personal dissatisfaction was strongest in the members of Quebec's new middle class, with these feelings centered around concerns of occupational mobility and the lack of a politically effective cultural identity. In other words, people perceived that they were being deprived of legitimate aspirations and associated this deprivation with membership in the Francophone community. It was time to challenge the relationship between the Francophone and Anglophone communities. The challenge was an ethnic one and took place under the form of French Canadian nationalism. Not only was support for French Canadian nationalism strongest in the members of Quebec's new middle class, but support for the most extreme form of nationalism, separatism, was also greatest among persons of this class (Cuneo and Curtio 1974).

The second set of conditions necessary for social conflict to occur is that there are actual possibilities that persons, either individually or acting together in a group, can affect a change in their life circumstances. For a group, this involves the perception by the individual group members that they possess or have access to resources that will, through united action, give them enough political power to make a challenge to the status quo worthwhile.

The Francophone community had within it political resources that made the challenge worthwhile at this time. It now had a large, well educated population. The post-secondary graduates and members of the new middle class had skills vitally important in mobilizing public support. Many of these people were teachers, university faculty, and broadcasters; communicators skilled in the arts of communication. Many individuals with organizational skills developed in management positions or in the organization of labour unions and associations were present in the community. Given the historical duality of the Canadian state, they also had a grievance that could be legitimized in view of the decline in the Angloceltic proportion of the Anglophone population, particularly in a country that espoused liberal democracy. Indeed, the fact that most immigrants of non-Angloceltic origin, even in Quebec, chose to identify, at least linguistically, with the Anglophone community, offered rather conclusive evidence of where

the rewards were currently the best.

The challenge was taken seriously, so seriously in fact, that The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established in 1963 by the government of L.B. Pearson. This was followed in 1968 by The Official Languages Act establishing Canada at the federal level as an official bilingual country with federal services available to all citizens in either French or English. English was no longer the only language of the federal Public Service and Crown corporations, and the business communities in Francophone areas were encouraged towards greater linguistic accomodation. The federal government also provided funding for language training programs which would allow both Anglophones and Francophones to become, if not fluent, at least competent in the other official language.

How successful these measures would be in changing the structure of the relationship between the two communities, only time would tell. A major obstacle to changing the relationship is the division of function between the central state government and the provincial governments. The Government of Canada has no direct control over such legitimization functions as education and language use within areas of provincial jurisdiction. This division of function through the B.N.A. Act which protected and maintained French Canadian cultural identity in Quebec could also work to continue the economic isolation of the Quebec Francophone community.

However, the success of the Francophone community in using ethnicity as a political resource in the bargaining was to provide people of non-French, non-British ethnic origin with a model for group formation when the "non-charter" ethnic groups challenged the official ideology of Canada as a bicultural nation during the public hearings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

CHAPTER V

THE NON-CHARTER CANADIANS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURALISM

Introduction

In this chapter, the conditions and political processes leading to the concept of multiculturalism as a model for the integration of peoples of different ethnic origins into the structure of Canadian society will be examined and discussed. The concept of multiculturalism has become so much a part of Canadian life today that it is sometimes easy to forget that the idea itself was practically unheard of until the 1960's and only became an aspect of federal government policy in 1971. Although Canada has always been characterized by cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity, at the time of confederation, those individuals whose ethnic origin was not French or Angloceltic represented only 8.4% of the Canadian population (Kalback 1978:86-87). The overwhelming dominance of French and British origin individuals is, of course, related to the colonial history of Canada. The colonizing countries of France and then British settled their nationals in the North American colonies not only to provide a means of livelihood for their surplus population but also to strengthen their hold on the colonial territory by having in place a resident population of nationals (Petersen 1968:58). While non-French non-British

immigration had occurred, the confederation that created the Canadian state in 1867 recognized only two cultural and linguistic communities, the French Canadian Francophone community and the British Canadian Anglophone community, as the ethnic participants in the Canadian state. After confederation, immigration was regarded by members of the government as an important factor in furthering the development of Canada as an industrial power and was supported by the business community as a means of ensuring a readily available supply of cheap labour.

In the early years of confederation, given the strength of the British empire, and the belief in "progress" and Anglo-Saxon and white superiority prevalent in the English speaking world at this time, a person's desirability as an immigrant was directly related to the degree he/she was white, Anglo-Saxon, and English speaking (Palmer 1976:85; Petersen 1968:59). Thus, British immigrants were given preference; such preference being justified by their assumed easier adjustment into the dominant Angloceltic Canadian society (Petersen 1968:59; Richmond 1967:25). British immigration also ensured that the relative strength of the members of the British origin population could be maintained or increased. However, immigrants from Britain could not provide the manpower for the economic development policies of the Canadian governments and it was under the vigorous immigration policy of Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior from 1896-1905, in Wilfred Laurier's

government, that immigration from continental Europe was actively encouraged. Britain was unable to provide the type of farmers who could successfully settle the prairies or the cheap unskilled labour to build the railway and open the mines.

Until the outbreak of war in 1914, large numbers of German, Dutch, Scandinavian, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, Russian, Italian, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants poured into the western prairies, the construction, mining and lumbering camps of B.C. and the Canadian shield, and the cities of Ontario, Quebec, and B.C. When the war ended, except for Asians whose immigration was almost totally prohibited, immigration from continental Europe resumed only declining sharply with the depression and then the outbreak in Europe again of war in 1939. The use of immigration as a tool for economic development by the federal governments produced not only a more ethnically diverse Canadian state but also resulted in regional differences in this ethnic diversity. Many of the non-British non-French immigrants settled in the prairies where they quickly outnumbered the Francophones and, as a collectivity, came to represent 40-50% of the population of the western provinces. This contrasted with the large proportion of British origin residents in the Anglophone provinces of Ontario and the Maritimes and, of course, the French Canadian origin of most of the residents of Francophone Quebec.

With the labour needs of the post World War II industrial development and the economic boom immigration was again encouraged. In the early post war years, immigration policy was ethnically selective favouring British immigrants (Richmond 1967:3). However, between 1947 and 1967, a series of changes to the immigration act gradually eliminated those sections which were overtly discriminatory ethnically or racially. These changes included removal of the head tax imposed on immigrants of Chinese origin, a policy of family reunion which allowed many of the Chinese residents to bring their families to Canada, the removal of quotas on the number of immigrants from non-European countries, and the removal of the provision for immediate citizenship for immigrants from Britain. The changes in 1967 which eliminated selection from preferred countries and instead selected immigrants on the basis of an individual point system placed a stress on education, training, and skills rather than country of origin (Richmond 1967:3). This was, of course, also in line with the policy of the federal governments to use immigration as a tool for economic development. By 1961, Canadians whose ethnic origin was not French, British or aboriginal, represented 24.6% of the population, a proportion that increased to 25.3% of the population by the time of the 1971 census (Statistics Canada 1961, 1971).

Cultural Assimilation

The arrival of significant numbers of non-French non-British people raised fundamental questions concerning the structure and form of Canadian society. How were these "strangers" to be accomodated in Canadian society? The assimilation model or ideology which found early public acceptance and continued into the World War II years, was that of cultural assimilation or anglo conformity (Palmer 1976:81). In the model of cultural assimilation, the host country places the emphasis on cultural or behavioural conformity, demanding that the immigrants abandon their natal culture and adopt the behaviours and values of the dominant group. With cultural assimilation, it is assumed that structural assimilation would occur as a matter of course. Another assumption of the classic assimilation model is that the immigrant would enter the society in a low status position and that her/his descendants would improve their status with each generation, finally to be totally absorbed into the dominant group (Richmond & Kalback 1980:352).

New Canadians were expected, even obligated, as the price of admission to the society, to conform to the values and behaviours of Canadian Angloceltic society which was already fixed. Because of the economic dominance of Canadians of British origin, there was little expectation by British origin Canadians that any of the non-British immigrants would assimilate into French Canadian society. That this expectation proved to be correct is evidenced

by the periodic complaints of French Canadian politicians and nationalists about immigration. Petersen (1968) points out that French Canadians did not oppose immigration itself; rather they opposed the entrance of non-Francophone immigrants who always seemed to chose to identify with the Angloceltic community in preference to the French Canadian one.

One of the primary agents of assimilation is the education system. Although in the latter years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century, there was in the prairie provinces provision for education in the mother tongue of many of the immigrants, this soon changed to English language only systems promoting anglo conformity. The members of ethnic communities who wished to pass on their mother tongue did so either within the family or through facilities provided by and within an ethnic community. For the descendants of these immigrants, the price of Anglo conformity was such that in 1961, although only 43.8% of the Canadian population was of British ethnic origin, 58.5% of the population listed English as their mother tongue (Statistics Canada 1971 Census Vol 1 Part 3).

Although the condition for membership in Canadian society was Angloceltic assimilation, a major factor preventing such assimilation was discrimination by the Angloceltic Canadian majority (Palmer 1976:89). Discrimination was a factor contributing to the "vertical mosaic" with the British at the top, down to the Chinese,

Japanese and blacks who occupied the bottom. Caught in a catch 22 situation, many second generation non-Anglocelts, anxious to improve their socio-economic status, made deliberate attempts to hide their ethnic background, not only by adopting Angocletic behaviours and values, but also anglicanizing their names (Palmer 1976:95; Palmer 1975). Not gaining access to even the middle levels of the opportunity structure in any significant way until after World War II and having little economic or political power, persons of non-British, non-French origin were unable to challenge the conditions established by the dominant Angloceltic majority until the 1960's.

It seems paradoxical that the wartime period which witnessed the vicious official act of racism of the forced relocation and incarceration of Japanese Canadians would also generate conditions which worked to undermine attitudes of ethnic prejudice (Palmer 1976:97). Both the military and the wartime industries provided opportunities for interaction and mobility for all levels of Canadian society. The war effort itself created an increased sense of a Canadian identity separate from that of Great Britain, which acted to undermine the conception of Anglophone Canada as "British" paving the way for a less British definition of what it meant to be an Anglophone Canadian in the post-war period (Palmer 1976:97). As well, the English/French duality served to make Anglo-conformity less legitimate. If French Canadians could maintain an independent cultural identity and still be participants in Canadian society,

why should the members of other ethnic communities have to completely adopt Angloceltic behaviours and values in order to participate in Canadian society? The revulsion generated by the extremism of the Nazi racist ideology also produced a post-war intellectual climate which challenged the assumptions and respectability of ethnocentrism and racism. The demands of a war economy and the economic boom that followed the war expanded the opportunity structure. There were more than enough jobs for everyone and fears of ethnic competition relaxed. In the post-war period, Canada opened its borders to the large numbers of refugees fleeing from the aftermath of the war in Europe. The ideology of humanitarianism combined with an increased Canadian participation in such world forums as the United Nations gave Canadians a new global perspective and if not an acceptance at least a tolerance for cultural differences.

The post-war wave of immigration which the members of the Canadian government and business community encouraged to fulfill their economic development goals was significantly different from the previous ones. While there was still a demand for unskilled labour, the expanding economy had created an even greater demand for skilled and professional labour which could not be met by the Canadian education systems. The Canadian government turned to the traditional source, immigration, to meet the demand. In the immediate post war period, Canada was one of the countries that

admitted a large number of refugees from the war torn continent of Europe. These people were mainly from urban areas and had skills badly needed by an expanding industrial economy. Thus these post-war immigrants were, on the whole, generally better educated and skilled than earlier immigrants. In fact, as a group, the post-war immigrants had an average level of education greater than that of native born Canadian citizens (Richmond & Kalback 1980).

The post-war immigrants were also more ethnically diverse than before. With industrial recovery well underway in Europe by the mid 1950's, the Government of Canada could no longer obtain the needed skilled manpower from Europe. Immigration was opened up to allow the admission of increasing numbers of educated and skilled persons from Africa, Asia, South America, and the Caribbean. However, while more ethnically diverse these immigrants tended to be skilled, well educated, urban oriented, middle class and carried with them the middle class values of their country of origin. The general economic prosperity improved access to education and increasing numbers of educated native born as well as immigrant non-Angloceltic Canadians entered the professions and middle eschelons of business and the public service. In the 1965 survey of middle level public servants done for the B. & B. Commission, 26.6% of those who identified themselves as anglophones, gave their ethnic origin as other than Angloceltic, while 13.7% of public

servants had a mother tongue other than French or English (B. & B. Report. Book 3. 1969:393, 394).

The Non-Charter Canadians Challenge

Although the climate of ethnic discrimination had been modified, a cultural pluralism model as an ideological framework for the integration of Canadian society did not originate in the Canadian Angloceltic community. It was instead, the model advanced by the non-British, non-French ethnic groups which formed in the 1960's as a result of the impact of French Canadian nationalism on Canadian society and the Pearson government's response in establishing the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission. Cultural pluralism assumes the preservation of communal life and a significant portion of the culture of immigrant groups. These relatively self-contained ethnic groups would be integrated through the mechanism of national citizenship into the political and economic structure of the receiving society. There would be structural integration but cultural independence. Cultural pluralism assumes that while each ethnic group would retain a sense of peoplehood, prejudice and discrimination would disappear because of flexibility and alternatives within the national context and the fact that no one group could be dominant and impose its values on the others.

The studies commissioned by the Bilingualism & Biculturalism Commission and the public hearings convinced many Anglophone Canadians that the linguistic and cultural rights of French Canadians had been poorly served in the actual working out of the terms of confederation in the development of Canada. However, the Commission also produced what Palmer (1976:101) terms an "ethnic backlash" because the terms of reference of the Commission with its emphasis on Canada as a bilingual, bicultural nation seemed to place non-British, non-French origin Canadians into a category of second-class citizens.

Many Canadians of non-French, non-British origin had maintained their mother tongue and aspects of their cultural traditions in spite of the pressures of Anglo conformity, and in an officially bicultural Canada, they felt their identity would be devalued and they would have fewer rights (Brief to B. & B. by St. John's Institute 1963:3). Individuals whose hard won upward mobility had been purchased at the cost of some form of Anglo conformity were confronted by the prospect that Francophone Canadians would receive similar advancement without any sacrifice of cultural identity. The fact that not only was French/English bilingualism to be rewarded in the new bilingual Canadian society while other forms of bilingualism wouldn't be, but that even a unilingual Francophone might somehow receive preferential treatment appeared to threaten the aspirations of many non-French,

non-British individuals.

Briefs submitted by various ethnic groups to the Commission, while acknowledging the validity of the bilingual French/English federal parliament and judiciary system for historical reasons, usually stressed the fact that English was the language of commerce and science in North America and that members of their respective ethnic communities had learned English in order to assimilate into Canadian society. In fact, the brief presented by the Scandinavian Centre Co-operative Association, in stressing the successful assimilation of members of their community, went so far as to state that they considered anyone who did not speak English to be a second-class citizen - even if he/she was French Canadian (1963:1). Often listing the accomplishments of the most distinguished members of their communities who had "made it" by conforming to, and sometimes in spite of, the terms established by the Anglo-celtic majority, the briefs presented by the various ethnic groups constantly stressed that individuals of many different ethnic origins had contributed to the development of Canada and that this should be recognized. Canada was not bicultural but multicultural. Many went on to stake a claim on public funding which would allow their ethnic group to preserve and maintain various aspects of their cultural tradition.

The ethnic groups that were formed to challenge the perceived threat of a bicultural, bilingual model for Canada had several resources for the political conflict. The ethnic nationalism of the French Canadian community in Quebec was accompanied by a dynamic artistic and cultural renaissance. French Canadians took pride in their ethnicity and their culture. The successful use of ethnicity by the French Canadian nationalists raised ethnic consciousness generally and made ethnicity a viable ideology for group formation. The ethnic communities now had within their memberships significant numbers of well educated and skilled people. There were both Canadian born and immigrant individuals who had advanced into the middle and upper ranks of the economic structure; who were articulate and had the organizational and communication skills to provide leadership and who became leading advocates of ethnic pluralism. In fact, the post-war immigrants were more "structurally integrated" than even native born Anglocelts and many of them had entered directly into middle class and professional occupations (Richmond & Kalback 1980).

In the western prairies, non-charter Canadians, as a category, were larger than either Angloceltic or French Canadians (Report of the B. & B. Commission Book 4:260-264). Many of the immigrants from Central and Northern Europe had settled in blocs and the various ethnic communities were already organized to provide social and cultural services for their members. Moreover, because

of their voting strength at the local level, non-charter Canadians were active in municipal and even provincial governments in the west. Finally, the ethnic groups as a coalition, could claim to represent the 25% of the Canadian population who weren't of British or French origin. In fact, as a coalition, the "other" Canadians were almost as great in number as French Canadians, a fact which couldn't be ignored by the politicians in the urban areas of Canada and in the rural areas of western Canada where French Canadians and/or Francophones were few in number in relation to "other" Canadians. When the suggestion was first put forth by Senator Paul Yuzyk in 1964 that such a coalition could hold a balance of power, it was quickly picked up and supported in public by the majority of Ukrainian organizations (Wangenheim 1968:648). The public hearings of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission provided the public forum in which to articulate the challenge to the concept of Canada as a bicultural state.

The conception of Canada as a multi-ethnic and thus multicultural state advanced by the presentations of the various ethnic groups was quickly picked up by the public media. The positive reaction from the Anglophone community threatened by the demands of the French Canadian nationalists was such that the members of the Bilingualism & Biculturalism Commission responded in the form of Book 4 - The Cultural Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups - a volume of the report which was not originally planned

(Burnet 1984). While acknowledging the contributions of the peoples of non-British, non-French Canadian origin to Canada's cultural development, Book 4 of the Bilingualism & Biculturalism, Report remained committed to the "basically bicultural" nature of Canada (pg 3).

The French Canadian nationalists quickly recognized the threat of the "other" Canadians. If any of their ethnic claims were recognized and acknowledged as valid, this could ultimately erode the French claim for a special relationship. French Canadians could become just another ethnic group contesting with all the other ethnic groups for public resources to maintain and support ethnic identity. French Canadian fears were partly realized. The Official Languages Act did entrench the French language at the federal level. However, in spite of the fact that the various recommendations of the Bilingualism & Biculturalism Commission were in keeping with its mandate and advanced the conception of Canada as a bicultural society, in 1971, the federal government officially proclaimed in parliament that Canada was a multicultural nation and no one cultural pattern was to be recognized as "Canadian". Cultural pluralism rather than assimilation became the official integration ideology.

The document tabled in parliament outlining the government's policy on multiculturalism did not promote ethnic pluralism. Acknowledging the cultural diversity of Canadians, the document

stressed that everyone has an ethnic background with each individual being born into a particular family with a distinct heritage. However, this identity did not detract from a wider loyalty and identity with the country of citizenship, Canada (Federal Government's Response to Book IV of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. 1971:3). The essence of Canadian identity was to be a cultural pluralism, where individuals and groups have the right to preserve and develop culture and values within the Canadian context.

In articulating policy for the Canadian state, the Government, in its policy paper, reduced ethnic groups to cultural groups, making ethnicity a personal matter. Language itself, at least at the structural level of state institutions, was also separated from ethnicity. Individual Canadians, regardless of ethnic origin would, ideally, be free to choose which official language they wished to operate in and neither official language was to be recognized as being identified exclusively with a particular ethnic community. In its multiculturalism policy, the federal government attempted to avoid institutionalizing any form of cultural pluralism in the Canadian state. This was, in fact, an erosion of the French Canadian position because while official bilingualism extended linguistic rights, these rights were available to any Francophone regardless of ethnic origin. French Canadian culture, however, had no official status and French Canadians could

no longer claim special status because of their cultural or ethnic origin.

There are inherent contradictions in the state policy of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism stresses cultural diversity and with government funding, even encourages the continuation of cultural diversity. Yet, the state ideology of multiculturalism also stresses that such diversity must occur within a common Canadian identity, an over riding identity that somehow will be common to all Canadians and unite them. While Canada is officially a bilingual country, the Charter of Rights has also entrenched other minority linguistic rights. Which language rights take precedence and how does the federal government resolve the issue when it has no jurisdiction over matters such as education and language use in provincial institutions? The political processes involved in addressing these contradictions are an area for further theoretical and empirical investigation.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Social conflict is the result of the structural processes of resource allocation within a social formation. It occurs when some members of the society are dissatisfied with the resource distribution and perceive that either individually or as a group, they can mobilize the political resources to make a challenge of the current distribution worthwhile. Ethnic groups are formed when ethnicity is used as a political resource in social conflict. The historical development of a society provides the context for social conflict.

1) Prior to confederation, the pattern of colonization and conquest in the Canadian territory resulted in two European ethnic communities, French-Canadian and Angloceltic. The economic sphere of both communities was controlled by Britain. The British colonial policy of using accommodating members of the indigenous elite discouraged cultural and structural assimilation. Thus, the French Canadian community was able to maintain their cultural identity and traditional social structure.

2) Confederation recognized and institutionalized in the structure of the Canadian state this ethnic duality. In exchange for recognition of the separate identity of the French Canadian

society and the institutionalization of the Francophone territorial base as the Province of Quebec the Anglophone community gained control of the economic sphere of the Canadian state and a dominant political position. Although in a minority position within the Canadian state, the Francophone community gained political autonomy at the provincial level with control over education. This allowed them to continue the maintenance of their traditional society and a French Canadian cultural identity. The Anglophone community, through the mechanism of the state, was able to centralize the economy and integrate the economic development of the territory of Canada. The economic sphere of the Canada state was dominated by Anglophones by their already established control of economic institutions and through access to British and American capital. This economic power and a majority in the political institutions of the state gave the Anglophone community the political power necessary to determine the political and economic development of Canada and the nature of the federal institutions.

3) The course of economic development pursued by early Canadian governments was capital intensive and designed to open the interior prairies to agriculture and the Canadian shield to mining to provide a base for the industrialization of central Canada. Central Canada would become the economically powerful

industrial metropolis; the western prairies the economically weaker hinterland. Immigration was used as a tool for this economic development. Because Britain was unable to provide the farmers, miners, and construction workers needed for rapid development, immigration from continental Europe was encouraged. Many of these immigrants remained and settled, particularly in the prairie provinces. This resulted in regional differences in the relative proportion of non-charter, French and Angloceltic Canadians and in the establishment of non-Angloceltic, non-French Canadian ethnic communities in western Canada.

4) While the assimilation ideology at this time was one of Anglo-conformity, neither complete structural or cultural assimilation occurred because of a) Angloceltic ethnocentrism; b) the Angloceltic monopoly over middle and upper ranks of the opportunity structure; c) the presence of a significant French Canadian minority who maintained a separate cultural identity. However, the non-charter immigrants did integrate linguistically into the Anglophone community for economic reasons.

5) The dominant position of the traditional French Canadian elite was based on a rural agricultural economy. The elite through the church controlled an education system that provided publicly funded schools only at the elementary level. Secondary

and post secondary education was privately funded, expensive and classically rather than industrially oriented. The combination of a non industrial education system, difficulty of access to education, and Anglophone domination of the industrial economy of Quebec placed the masses of French Canadians in a subordinate economic position relative to Anglophone and especially Angloceltic Canadians. Francophones were concentrated in the agricultural and unskilled sectors of the opportunity structure often acting as a labour reserve army for industry in Quebec.

6) World War II accelerated the economic changes that saw the Canadian economy enter the advanced industrial stage with the expansion of technology, and the bureaucratic revolution. This resulted in a demand for a large skilled labour force, and led to the expansion of middle class job opportunities. One institutional response was expansion of the education system to provide the necessary skilled workers. Education became the key to mobility. The members of the French Canadian population whose level of education had risen significantly in the post-war period due to the public funding of secondary education perceived that their mobility in the occupation structure was blocked by Anglophone domination of the economic sector. They challenged the current distribution of resources on the basis of ethnicity. The mobilization of a large segment

of the French Canadian community in Quebec in the challenge and the accompanying threat of Quebec separation to the status quo of the Canadian state was a political resource that could not be ignored by the Anglophone community. The Bilingualism & Biculturalism Commission was instituted to investigate and recommend means of giving Francophones better access to the opportunity structure, i.e. institutionalization of a bilingual, bicultural structure at the federal level. It was proposed in the terms of reference that Canada become offically bilingual and bicultural. In 1968, the Official Languages Act made Canada officially bilingual at the federal level.

7) If a rapid pace of economic development was to be maintained, the demands for the necessary unskilled, skilled and professional worker by the industrial and bureaucratic sectors could not be met by the Canadian workforce. The Canadian government again turned to immigration to meet the need. The post World War II immigrants were more ethnically diverse and, on the average, had a higher level of education than native born Canadians. Most of those with education were able to enter directly into the middle and upper levels of the opportunity structure. Descendants of earlier immigrants were now working their way up the opportunity structure as well. In order to enhance their mobility in the opportunity

structure, the majority of non-charter Canadians identified linguistically with the Anglophone community. An officially bilingual, bicultural nation threatened their position. By this time the non-charter Canadian population was 25%, almost equal to the Francophone population,and in most urban areas and especially the prairies as a group they outnumbered the French Canadians. The ethnic diversity of the prairies and the pattern of bloc settlement had allowed many of the early wave of non-Angloceltic non-French immigrants to maintain ethnic communities. If they united in a coalition they represented considerable voting strength in many regions and they also, by reason of their occupations, had both bureaucratic and economic power. The French Canadian community used ethnicity as a political resource. In turn, ethnicity was used by the non-charter ethnic groups that formed in response to the French Canadian political mobilization to support their own challenge. This was less a conflict over the current access to economic resources but more a conflict over a proposed change in the access to economic resources that would favour Francophones and possibly disadvantage those whose first language was neither French nor English. The non-charter Canadians challenged the proposed bicultural concept of the Canadian state proposing instead that Canada be conceptualized ideologically as a multi-ethnic and hence multicultural society.

In 1971 the federal government announced in parliament an official policy of multiculturalism.

8) The official state policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was the response of the government to two separate challenges to the distribution of political/economic resources in Canadian society. The Official Languages Act recognized that the original terms of confederation which established the Canadian state was a union of two ethnic communities, French Canadian and Angloceltic. The languages of both these communities, French and English, were to be used at the federal level and Canadian citizens had the right to use either one or both of the languages regardless of their ethnic origin. The use of French or English was not to be identified with any particular ethnic community. The state policy attempted to divorce language use from the question of ethnicity.

The policy of multiculturalism in which no particular cultural pattern had status as being officially Canadian was an attempt on the part of the government to reduce the issue of ethnicity to cultural diversity. By encouraging and funding all cultural diversity the government avoided institutionalizing any particular ethnic distribution of resources. These two policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism contain inherent contradictions. By entrenching both an official language policy and minority language

rights in the structure of the state the question of which takes precedence arises. This conflict is exacerbated by the division of accumulative and legitimization (c.f. Ch. III) functions between the central and provincial governments of the Canadian state. This is a conflict that is currently occurring within Canadian society as provincial governments attempt to provide language access and education that will satisfy all ethnic groups.

Ethnicity is still salient in Canadian society and ethnic groups in the political sense are still active and forming. Of particular theoretical interest, given the political context of the Canadian scene, is the question of the culture-symbolic content of ethnicity and the processes and structures of ethnic interests and their articulation within Canadian society. The exact nature of both the relationship between language and culture, and the relationship between language, culture and ethnicity is still an open issue theoretically. Canadian society provides an empirical situation where some of these theoretical issues can be examined. Ideologically, the term multiculturalism itself can have a variety of meanings attached to it depending on the interest and viewpoint of the user. These meanings can range from a tolerance for cultural diversity, through encouragement and maintenance of cultural diversity, to the incorporation of cultural diversity in state institutions. Incorporation of cultural diversity is most important to the so called "non-charter" Canadians whose languages

have no official status. The political activity of this segment of the Canadian population has kept multicultural issues in the public forum. The ongoing public dialogue over the meaning of multiculturalism has reached the point where for most Canadians multiculturalism means more than just tolerance of cultural diversity. It is likely that the meaning of multiculturalism will continue to be manipulated by ethnic actors in a effort to incorporate ethnic interests in the institutions of the Canadian state. When the interests of an ethnic group are routinely taken into account by institutions of the state ethnic actors have political status. The effect of such status on the processes of membership and leadership of ethnic groups and the definition of ethnic group goals is not only a matter of empirical and theoretical interest to social scientists. There will be a fundamental change in the structure of Canadian society if multiculturalism is incorporated into the institutions of the Canadian state.

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